

3/15/77 [1]

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
memo	From Paul Henze to Zbigniew Brezinski (5pp.) Re: International Broadcasting Issues	3/10/77	A
memo	From Zbigniew Brzezinski to The President (1 p.) Re: Appointment of Chairman of International Broadcasting	undated	A

FILE LOCATION

Category Presidential Papers- Staff Offices , Office of the Staff Sec.- Pres.
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES A

AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

NA FORM 1429 (8-85)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Ham Jordan
Z. Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Chairman of the International
Broadcasting Board

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
X		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
X	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY BILL
	Staffing comments should go to Bert Carp within 48 hours; due from Carp to Staff Secretary next day.

	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Staffing comments should go to Doug Huron within 48 hours; due from Huron to Staff Secretary next day.

ACTION	FYI	
		ARAGON
		BOURNE
X		BRZEZINSKI
		BUTLER
		CARP
		H. CARTER
		CLOUGH
		FALLOWS
		FIRST LADY
		GAMMILL
		HARDEN
		HOYT
		HUTCHESON
		JAGODA
		KING
		KRAFT
		LANCE
		LINDER
		MITCHELL
		POSTON
		PRESS
		B. RAINWATER
		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1977

cc: Ham
36.9
What are key elements of
the Stanton report?
J

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN

SUBJECT: CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BOARD

As you requested, I checked with Secretary Vance on the proposed appointment of John Gronouski as Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting. Cy has no objection to Gronouski, but indicated his preference was for Frank Stanton, former President of CBS. McGovern and Percy have also recommended Stanton, but there is no record of their objection to Gronouski. The basic controversy is over William E. Griffith, and we can postpone any action on that nomination until a later date.

Arguments in favor of Gronouski: He was Postmaster General in the Johnson Administration and then served as Ambassador to Poland, where it is generally agreed he performed well. He is a prominent ethnic and not an "establishment" type. He has apparently already been contacted by Brzezinski and is reported to be enthusiastic about taking the job. It is doubtful that even McGovern and Percy would object to his appointment. He would bring a new perspective to the Board.

Arguments in favor of Stanton: As Chairman of a Panel which studied the international broadcasting situation, Mr. Stanton has had experience in the area, although to some the recommendations of the Panel he chaired have been controversial. As a former President of CBS he would bring a good deal of experience in all forms of broadcasting to the Board. He has the support of Vance, Sen. McGovern and Sen. Percy.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: March 3, 1977

MEMORANDUM

FOR ACTION:

Hamilton Jordan

FOR INFORMATION: Jim King

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Zbigniew Brzezinski memo 3/2/77 re
Board for International Broadcasting.

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED
TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: Indefinite

DAY:

DATE:

ACTION REQUESTED:

☒ Your comments

Other:

STAFF RESPONSE:

☐ I concur.

☐ No comment.

Please note other comments below:

*return orig to
ZB per HT
memo*
Phil

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

March 12, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR : Zbigniew Brzezinski

FROM: Hamilton Jordan

RE: Board for International Broadcasting

With respect to your March 2 memorandum to the President on the Board for International Broadcasting, it seems to me two separate issues are involved: 1) on membership from the Board and 2) transmittal of the Board Report to the Congress.

In view of the comments we have received about William Griffith, I think we should wait on any proposals to the President for Board membership until we have the letter from Senators McGovern and Percy.

I suggest therefore that you do two separate memos to the President, one of which could deal with the report in the usual manner and the second of which could deal with the question of Board members.

Let me know if you have any problems with this.

cc: Rick Hutcheson



11

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN
SUBJECT: Appointment of new Chairman of
Board for International Broadcasting

I concur with Zbigniew Brzezinski's recommendation of John Gronouski as Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Abshire:

Thank you for your letter of February 8, 1977. I share your concern for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and regard these radios as an important manifestation of our country's dedication to human rights and to the principle of free flow of information throughout the world. They deserve continued strong support from the United States Government. We are studying plans for strengthening the radios' transmitter power. I plan to include specific recommendations to this effect in my forthcoming report to the Congress.

Your rationale for withdrawing from the Board's activities in the near future is persuasive. I accept your resignation from the Chairmanship as well as the Board. You have rendered a distinguished service in getting the Board solidly established as sponsor of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, in representing these important institutions to the Congress and the American public, and in giving the staffs of the radios themselves the assurance that their interests and the continuity of their work are well provided for. These are important accomplishments for which we are grateful.

I wish you good fortune in your future endeavors and hope you do not lose your keen interest in the field of international broadcasting.

Sincerely,

Mr. David M. Abshire
Board for International Broadcasting
Suite 430
1030 Fifteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

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BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

United States of America

Suite 430

1030 Fifteenth Street, N.W.

Washington, DC 20005

202/254-8040

February 8, 1977

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

My dear Mr. President:

After much thought about what best serves the mission of the Board for International Broadcasting, I hereby submit my resignation as Chairman of the Board, to take effect within the next thirty days. My reasons are several:

First, during 1977 this Board and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty will face demanding situations. My term will expire at a crucial time in May. The legislative cycle begins in a month. The Board Chairman must be the chief Congressional witness and at the same time the principal legislative manager. Continuity in the legislative process is essential. I have also opened excellent discussions with the newly merged boards of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. These focus on the respective roles and common problems of their Board and the Board for International Broadcasting. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has expressed important views on those roles. Here again there must be continuity in these new discussions.

Second, the first follow-up to the Helsinki accords will take place this June in Belgrade. The role of international broadcasting and Soviet jamming is a key issue, as you noted in your statements last August.

Third, as you also noted, there is a pressing demand for further modernization of facilities. This is now more fully possible since we will have, for the first time, a government-to-government agreement for a RFE/RL transmitter lease in Portugal.

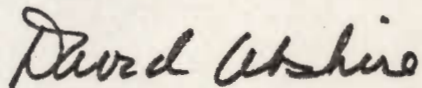
Fourth, there is a strong need, now that the long term Portuguese agreement is secure, to follow up in the negotiations I began in Spain last year when we obtained a modus vivendi in place of the earlier six-month termination requirement.

In sum, I believe it is important to the mission of the Board for International Broadcasting that I clear the way for you to designate, as soon as possible, a chairman who will assure continuity throughout the forthcoming period.

My devotion to the mission of international broadcasting and my great respect for my fellow Board members naturally make me only too pleased to serve out my Board term under a new chairman. If, however, the selection of a new chairman would be facilitated by your naming a new Board appointee with a full three-year term, please also accept my resignation from the Board, in order to provide you now with such a vacancy.

I would add that I have considered it an honor and a privilege to serve as the first chairman of this Board. I profoundly appreciate the broad and bipartisan support given by the Congress and the Executive Branch to this mission, for it is one dedicated to the free flow of information and it is overseen through an open and democratic process.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David Abshire". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

David M. Abshire
Chairman

Warren OH 44484 Office: Judiciary Bldg Columbus OH 43215 also
Union Savs and Trust Bldg Warren OH 44482

GRIFFITH, ORAN HEATON, editor: b. Gary, Tex., Nov. 24, 1914; s. Wyatt Greer and Frances Ethel (Heaton) G.; B.S., Stephen F. Austin State U., Nacogdoches, Tex., 1949; Th.D., Tex. Bapt. Inst. and Sem., Henderson, 1960; m. Alice Marie Bradbury, July 13, 1955; 1 son, Charles Leo. Tehr., prin., supt. Tex. pub. schs., 1937-48; ordained to ministry Baptist Ch., 1938; pastor rural chs., 1938-48, White Oak (Tex.) Bapt. Ch., 1948-55, Lowell St. Bapt. Ch., Texarkana, Tex., 1955--; editor-in-chief Am. Bapt. Assn. Pubs., 1955--; chaplain Texarkana Fire Dept., 1961-62. Fund raiser Boggs Springs Bapt. Youth Encampment, Wickes, Ark., 1960; pres. trustees, 1960-67. Lion (dir. White Oak club 1953-55). Author: Successful Sunday School Administration, 1957; Child Evangelism, 1961; Here's How to Have a Better Sunday School, 1963. Editor, pub. The Soul Winner, 1952-55; writer quar. Young People's Sunday Sch., 1955-57. Home: 3012 Post St Texarkana TX 75501. Office: PO Box 502 Texarkana TX 75501

GRIFITH, PAUL HOWARD, corp. exec., bus. cons.; b. Uniontown, Pa., Apr. 8, 1897; s. David Ambrose and Annie May (Fleegle) G.; student Nancy Coll.; m. Pearl Jennewine, June 30, 1920 (dec.); children: Nancy Lee, Mrs. Robert R. Sweeney, Paul Howard. Partner, D.A. Griffith & Son, wholesale dairy products, Uniontown, 1919-32; Hutchinson-Griffith Motor Co., Brownsville, Pa., 1928-30; owner Paul H. Griffith Industries, Washington, 1940-; chmn. bd. Milentratics, Inc., Alexandria, Va.; pres. Creative Chem., Inc., C.D. Distors., Inc., Potomac, Md.; exec. v.p. Buchart, Inc., architects and engrs., York, Pa., 1956-; now with Buchart-Horn, cons. engrs.; asst. sec. def., 1949-50. Pres., U.S. Small Bus. Council, 1954-55; exec. mem. Nat. Selective Service (Pres'd.) Appeal Bd., 1949-59; mem. Am. tech. mission to India, also asst. to Louis Johnson, personal rep. of Pres. in Middle and Near East, 1942; served as mem. bd. to establish essential activities and critical occupations War Manpower Commn. and SSS; chief Vets. Personnel div. SSS; adminstr. Retng. and Reemployment Adminstr., Office Manpower Mobilzn.; asst. exec. Office Undersec. of War; chmn. Pa. Vets. Comm. Pres., Religious Heritage Am. Bd. Pres. Arms of Friendship. Served with U.S. Army. World War I; to col. AUS. Decorated U.S., France, Belgium (World War I). U.S., France, Greece, Italy (World War II). Mem. Soc. Am. Mil. Engrs., Engrs. Soc. Pa., Am. Rd. Builders Assn., Am. Legion (nat. comdr. 1946-47). Republican. Mem. Christian Ch. (elder, trustee, mem. bd.). Club: Army and Navy (Washington). Home: 11121 River Rd Potomac MD 20854 Office: Metromedia Bldg 5151 Washington Av NW Washington DC 20016

GRIFFITH, RICHARD MATTHEWS, JR., security broker: b. Los Angeles, Oct. 31, 1926; a. Richard Matthews and Eleanor (Seavey) G.; student La. Poly. Inst., 1944-45, Duke, 1945-46; B.A., Princeton, 1948. Adminstr. asst. Dept. Army, Washington, 1950-54; trainee Bank of Cal. N.A., San Francisco, 1954-59; account exec. Mithcum Jones & Templeton, San Francisco, 1959-67; account exec. William Hutchinson and Co. Inc., San Francisco, 1967-72, sec.-treas., mgr. investment mgmt. dept., 1969-72, portfolio mgr., 1969-, v.p., dir., 1967-; dir. Griffith Co., Los Angeles. Served with USNR, 1944-46. Mem. Cal. Hist. Soc. (trustee 1962-72, pres. 1972). Club: San Francisco Yacht (rear commodore 1971-73). Home: 79 Bellevue St. Belvedere CA 94920 Office: 44 Montgomery St. San Francisco CA 94104

GRIFFITH, ROBERT FREDERICK, state justice; b. Claremont, N.H., June 12, 1911; s. Murdie Daniel and Grace Lavinia (Bickford) G.; B.A., U. N.H., 1933; J.D., Boston U., 1936; m. Mabel Gertrude Brown, June 18, 1938; children—John Perry, Nancy (Mrs. David Bjorkgren). Admitted to N.H. bar, 1936, since practiced in Nashua; asso. Hamblett & Hamblett, 1938-47; partner Hamblett, Griffith, Moran & Hamblett, 1947-52; asso. justice N.H. Superior Ct., 1952-67; N.H. Supreme Ct., 1967—, Dir. 2d Nat. Bank, Nashua, 1956-60. Chmn. Nashua chpt. A.R.C., 1954-56; pres. bd. dirs. YMCA, 1948-52; bd. dirs. Meml. Hosp., 1968-70. Served to 1st lt. inf., AUS, 1944-46. Recipient Centennial award Boston U., 1972; Silver Shingle, 1972; decorated Commendation medal. Mem. Am., N.H., Nashua (past pres.), bar assns., Am. Judicature Soc., Am. Law Inst. Republican. Unitarian. Clubs: Nashua Country, 20 Associates. Home: 12 Berkeley St Nashua NH 03060 Office: 19 Temple St Nashua NH 03060

GRIFFITH, ROBERT KENASTON, fabricated metal products co. exc., b. Canton, O., Mar. 5, 1917; s. Louis Eugene and Mary Wygant (Kenaston) G.; B.S., Lafayette Coll., 1940; night student Wharton Sch., U. Pa., 1953-55; m. Edna Adele Roth, Nov. 1, 1942; children—Robert Kenaston, Adele Harley, Louis Eugene II, Mary Anne, Martha Wygant. With Riley Stocker Corp., Worcester, Mass., 1940-41, 46-, v.p., treas., 1956-60, pres., treas., 1960-69, chief exec. officer, 1966-69; v.p., treas., dir. Badenhausen Co., Cornwall Heights, Pa., 1956-; asst. sec., dir. A.W. Cash Co., Decatur, Ill., 1956-; pres., treas. Robert K. Griffith & Assocs., Inc., East Woodstock, Conn., 1971-; dir. Mechanics Nat. Bank, Worcester; Incorporator Peoples Bank, Worcester. Incorporator Hahnmann Hosp., Worcester. Mem. Am. Soc. M.E., Am. Soc. Ins. Mgmt., Zeta Psi. Republican. Home: Box 48 East Woodstock Ct 06244

GRIFFITH, ROBERT WILSON, ins. co. exec.; b. Custer, Mont.,
 Apr. 30, 1915; s. William T. and Helena (Shoemaker) G.; B.S., Ohio
 State U., 1937; m. Jane Needham, Aug. 6, 1942; children—Ann (Mrs.
 Darrel Dreher), Lynn (Mrs. Robert Gast, Jr.), Underwriter,
 Nationwide Mut. Ins. Co., Columbus, O. 1937-40, statistician,
 1940-49, actuary, 1949—v.p., actuary, 1966—v.p., actuary
 Nationwide Mut. Fire Ins. Co., Nationwide Gen. Ins. Co. Served with
 Ordnance Corps, AUS, 1942-46. Mem. Am. Acad. Actuaries, Sigma
 Nu. Presbyrn. Mason. Home: 40 Wilson Dr Worthington OH 43085
 Office: 246 N High St Columbus OH 43216

GRIFFITH, SAMUEL BLAIR II, author, lectr., cons.; b. Lewistown, Pa., May 31, 1906; s. Henry Foster and Marguerite (Fitzgerald) G.; B.S., U.S. Naval Acad., 1929; D.Phil., Oxford U., Eng., 1961; m. Belle Gordon Nelson, Dec. 21, 1929; children—Belle Gordon (Mrs. Harry Bailey Heneberger), Jane Scerrill (Mrs. Robert Kyger Rushing (div.)), Comm. 2d lt. USMC, 1929, advanced through grades to brig. gen., 1956; staff, corps commd., Tientsin, China, staff 7th Fleet, 1945-46; comdg. officer U.S. Marine Forces, Tsingtao, China, 1946-47; staff U.S. Naval War Coll., Newport, R.I., 1947-50; chief of staff Fleet Marine Force Atlantic, 1951-52; mem. staff U.S. Comdr-in-Chief, Europe, 1953-56; ret., 1956; research fellow Council on Fgn. Relations, N.Y., 1964-67; research asso. Hoover Inst., Stanford, 1967-68; cons. aerospace systems div. Bendix Corp., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1965-67, Stanford Research Inst., Menlo Park, Cal., and Washington, 1968-70; Hoover Inst., Stanford, 1967-68, Inst. for Def. Analysis, Washington, 1968-69; lectr. Nat. War Coll., Washington, 1969-70; Air War Coll. Maxwell AFB, Ala., 1967-70; Naval War

GRIFFITH, THOMAS, editor; b. Tacoma, Dec. 30, 1915; s. Thomas and Anne (O'Reilly); g. A.B., U. Wash., 1936; postgrad. (Nieman fellow), 1942-43; m. Caroline, Conn. College, Sept. 26, 1937. Reporter, asst. city editor Seattle Times, 1936-42; contrib. editor Time Mag., 1943-49, nat. affairs editor, 1949-51, gen. news editor, 1951-60; asst. mng. editor, 1960-63; sr. staff editor Time, Inc. publs., 1964-67; editor Life mag., 1968-72. Mem. Council Fgn. Relations, Hammer and Coffin, Fr Tree, Sigma Delta Chi. Clubs: Harvard, Century Assn., Coffee House (N.Y.C.). Author: The Waist High Culture, 1959. Home: 25 East End Av New York City NY 10028

GRIFFITH, WILLIAM EDGAR, educator; b. Remsen, N.Y., Feb. 19, 1920; s. William G. and Sarah G. (Mitchell) G.; A.B., Hamilton Coll., Clinton, N.Y., 1942; M.A., Harvard, 1944; Ph.D., 1950; m. 1950, Margaret M. Schirmer, 4 children; 2 sons, Everett, Elizabeth, George, and Thomas; 1 daughter, Olivia; fellow Harvard, 1948-50, 1951-52, pres. Free Europe Comm., 1950-51, polit. adviser, Munich, Germany, 1951-58; research asso. Center Internat. Studies, Mass. Inst. Tech., 1958-65, prof. polit. sci., 1965-; prof. diplomatic history, Fletcher Sch. Law and Diplomacy, 1962-; cons. to govt., 1959--Served to 1st Lt. AUS, 1942-46. Mem. Council Gen. Relations. Author: *Albania and the Sino-Soviet Rift*, 1963; *The Sino-Soviet Rift, 1964*; *Sino-Soviet Relations, 1964-1965*, 1967. Editor: *Communism in Europe*, 2 vols., 1964, 66. Home: 19 Peacock Farm Rd Lexington MA 02173 Office: 30 Wadsworth St Cambridge MA 02139

8. GRIFFITHS, GORGE FINDLEY, business exec.; b. Chgo., Feb. 18, 1906; s. George Harold and Mabel May (Green) G.; student U.S. Mil. Acad., 1925-27; B.A., Amherst Coll., 1929; m. Marion E. Wintterowd, Feb. 15, 1941; children—Jean Wintterowd, William Harold, Judith Holland, Robert Pennell. Salesman, United Screw & Bolt Corp., 1929-31, U.S. Steel Corp., 1931-38; salesman Sharon (Pa.) Steel Corp., 1938-40, dist. mgr. sales, 1940-46, gen. mgr. sales, 1946-47, v.p., gen. mgr. sales, 1947-49; asst. to exec. v.p. Acme Steel Co., Chgo., 1950-51, asst. to pres., 1952, v.p., 1953-58, exec. v.p. sales, 1958-60, pres., chief exec. officer, chmn. exec. com., 1961-64, dir., 1954-64; chmn. bd., chief exec. officer Interlake Steel Corp. (merged Acme Steel Co. and Interlake Iron Corp. 1964), 1964-69, chmn. bd., 1969-71, also dir., mem. exec. com.; dir. Midland Ross Corp., Pullman Trust & Savs. Bank, Bliss & Laughlin Industries, Inc. Bd. dirs. Jr. Achievement of Chgo.; trustee Ill. Inst. Tech., Ingalls Memorial Hosp., Village of Hillside, Ill., Mt. Carmel Hosp., Ill. IT Research Inst., Chicago Iron and Steel Inst., past dir., Ill. C. C. Psi Upsilon, Republican, Christian Scientist, Clubs: Executives (dir.), Mid-Am. University (dir.), Chicago (Chgo.); Hinsdale (Ill.) Golf; Commercial Hole-in-the-Wall Golf (Naples, Fla.). Home: 439 E 6th St Hinsdale, IL 60521. Office: 310 S Michigan Av Chicago IL 60603

GRIFFITHS, GEORGE MOTLEY, educator; b. St. Catharines Ont., Can., Dec. 12, 1923; s. George Ewart and Valeska Anna (Motley) G.; B.A.Sc. in Engrng. Physics, U. Toronto (Ont.), 1949; M.A. in Physics, U. B.C. (Can.), 1950, Ph.D. in Nuclear Physics, 1953; in Joyce Margaret Craig, Sept. 16, 1949, ch. 1. (died 2001)

1886: West Farmington, O., Oct. 30; 1886:
 1886: West Farmington, O., Oct. 30; 1886:
 1886: West Farmington, O., Oct. 30; 1886:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Speaker:

In my letter of January 31, I informed you my advisers were reviewing a report on international broadcasting in compliance with Section 403 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, 1977. That review is now finished.

This Administration firmly supports U.S. international broadcasting as part of our commitment to the freer flow of information and ideas. Among the most valuable instruments we have for this purpose are our international radios -- the Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) -- which for many years have been a vital part of the lives of the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. My review of the U.S. international broadcasting effort has led me to the following conclusions, which are reflected in the attached report:

- (1) Present U.S. international broadcast transmission facilities are inadequate: 16 additional 250 Kilowatt transmitters for broadcasts to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are needed by VOA and RFE/RL and can be installed in a period of three to five years;
- (2) There is no significant unused transmitter capacity available for sharing among U.S. broadcasters or between U.S. and other Western broadcasters;

- (3) A comprehensive outline of U.S. world-wide broadcasting needs indicates a requirement for 12 additional VOA transmitters for broadcast to Asia and Africa, beyond those required for European broadcasts;
- (4) Extending Board for International Broadcasting-type transmissions to other nations where access to information is restricted would be highly impractical for a variety of reasons.

I trust this report complies with the requirements of PL 94-350, and I believe that implementation of its recommendations can assure the United States of effective broadcasting programs in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

Attachment

The Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Sincerely,

Attachment

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
President of the Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

*Please make
these calls -
J.C.*CONFIDENTIAL

March 15, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

FROM: JESSICA TUCHMAN

SUBJECT: Presidential Calls on
Human Rights Announcement

If the announcement on the four human rights treaties is still in the UN speech, then the President should make the following calls before Thursday evening:

Senate Majority Leader Byrd - His support cannot be counted on and a call would be very important.

House Majority Leader O'Neill - This is a courtesy to the House side but an essential one.

Senator Sparkman - As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he should be informed as an important courtesy.

Senator Proxmire - Leader of the fight for the Genocide treaty.

Senator Cranston - One of the major supporters and activists on the UN Conventions at the moment.

Senator Humphrey - Key supporter on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL/GDS*Jay 7/5/89*

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Introduction

International broadcasting is a key element of United States foreign policy. Communicating our policies, ideals and traditions of free information to the peoples of the world is of vital importance to the security of the United States and the structure of peace. Our most critical audiences for international broadcasting are in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, where censorship and controlled media give the peoples of the area distorted or inadequate views of the U.S., as well as of crucial events within their own countries and in the world at large.

There are two separate U.S. international broadcasters to these audiences -- The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The VOA is an integral part of the United States Government. Its mission is world-wide and the primary functions are to present world news, to express and explain U.S. official policy and American society and institutions. RFE/RL, on the other hand, is organized as a non-profit corporation funded by Congress under the statutory oversight of the Board for International Broadcasting. Its task is to encourage a constructive dialog with the peoples of the USSR and Eastern Europe, and broadcast content is focused on the concerns of these peoples. VOA broadcasts are generally, if reluctantly, accepted by the Soviet and East European regimes as an official activity of the USG. RFE/RL broadcasts are heavily jammed in the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria and to a lesser extent in Poland as well. (The Soviet and East European authorities have failed to acknowledge the manifest changes in RFE/RL funding, oversight and programs since 1971.)

This report is the result of a comprehensive examination of a variety of options on how to improve the effectiveness of U.S. international broadcasting, accordance with Section 403 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1977.

Effective Use of Broadcasting Facilities

To establish with authority the requirements for broadcasting by VOA and RFE/RL, a recognized authority in the field of international broadcasting was requested to prepare a report. In his thorough study, he examined the technical requirement for effective broadcasting for both VOA and RFE/RL, treating all their transmitter facilities in the European area, for purposes of study, as a single integrated network. His technical findings have been generally accepted by BIB and USIA.

After reviewing the technical and political requirements for effective international broadcasting, the study examined options for reducing the cost of meeting those requirements. The study finds that the present transmission facilities of both the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty are inadequate to assure a satisfactory probability of reception in all current languages of broadcast to the USSR and Eastern Europe--particularly in view of the continued jamming of RFE/RL broadcasts in much of the area. Both radios are presently vulnerable to the possibility of equipment failure or to transmitter site loss; neither has much capacity to increase broadcasting during periods of international crisis. Given these problems, the study and its review have determined that sixteen new 250 kilowatt transmitters are required for this U.S. broadcasting effort.

A full range of alternatives has been carefully reviewed; these alternatives would reduce the overall transmitter requirement by curtailing, reducing or combining VOA and RFE/RL broadcast efforts

in various languages. The options examined -- and rejected -- included eliminating broadcasts to many non-Russian nationalities of the USSR and integrating the RFE/RL and VOA program schedules as well as their transmitter networks.

While several of these options would reduce potential capital investment costs and annual operating costs, the political disadvantages of such measures far outweigh the budgetary savings or technical efficiencies. Sharing present transmitter facilities for VOA and RFE/RL broadcasts would not reduce the need for new transmitters, given present program and language requirements. The savings that might be achieved by integrating program schedules would be at the cost of significant reductions in current prime-time broadcasting in such major languages as Polish, Czech, Hungarian and Ukrainian. Eliminating broadcasts in some or most non-Russian languages of the USSR could be widely interpreted as a weakening of the U.S. commitment to the Helsinki provision for "freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds," and as a lessening of U.S. interest in the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the requirement for additional transmitters could be reduced if the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria halted their jamming of RFE/RL broadcasts. Such a halt would be in conformity with the final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which expressed hope for the continued "expansion in the dissemination of information broadcast by radio." At the time of this writing, there is no indication that jamming will be halted.

Cooperation with Foreign Governments

Other Western Governments (UK, FRG, France, Canada, the Netherlands, Luxembourg) with transmitters that can reach the USSR

and Eastern Europe have almost no unused transmitter capacity to share with the VOA or RFE/RL. These other broadcasters (including BBC, Deutsche Welle and Radio Netherlands) maintain transmission schedules that leave virtually no free time on their transmitters when RFE/RL and VOA needs are greatest (i. e., prime time). These broadcasters are demonstrably under-capitalized in terms of the transmitter capacity to meet their own responsibilities and requirements. For example, Deutsche Welle's eight powerful 500 KW transmitters are in use 24 hours daily. BBC, the only Western broadcaster that has a worldwide mission and resources comparable to those of VOA, employs 97% of its total capacity during prime time broadcasting hours. Radio Netherlands has no open time in any of its transmission schedules during prime time broadcasting hours and all its transmitters broadcast 18 hours daily.

A Comprehensive U.S. Broadcasting Outline

The technical requirements to meet U.S. needs for broadcasting to the USSR and Eastern Europe have been defined above. To ensure an acceptable minimum level of broadcasting effectiveness for VOA operations in other parts of the world,* USIA has recently completed a study of its worldwide requirements and identified these new transmitter requirements. The USIA study has been reviewed and its conclusions reassessed in the context of the technical analysis developed for this report. When these findings of the USIA study are meshed with the determined needs for transmitter facilities in Europe, the results

*VOA presently broadcasts in 36 languages to diverse parts of the world for a total of 789 hours weekly. The VOA English Service is worldwide and averages 164 hours weekly. Among the major languages, Spanish to Latin America is on 38 hours each week, French to Africa 37 hours, and Arabic 49 hours weekly. At times, unusual political circumstances arise in a single country which call for increased VOA activity. RFE/RL broadcasts in languages (6 in Eastern Europe, 16 in ~~the Soviet Union~~) for a total 980 hours weekly.

indicate an additional requirement for four new 250 KW VOA transmitters in sub-Saharan Africa to provide a reliable signal in East and South Africa and eight similar transmitters to strengthen existing VOA broadcasting facilities in the Western Pacific region.

Once the required new transmitters are installed -- and three to five years will be required to complete their installation -- all present U.S. broadcasting needs and commitments can be effectively met. Although language priorities may change in response to political events and some languages may be added or dropped, the total transmitter capacity will be sufficiently flexible to accommodate all probable changes short of a fundamental transformation in U.S. broadcasting policy.

Extending U.S. Broadcasting Operations

An examination of the feasibility of extending BIB-type broadcasting operations to additional countries where access to information is restricted reveals immense difficulties. Except for Western Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, some Latin American and a few other countries, most of the governments of the world restrict in various degrees their citizens' access to information. In many instances, these restrictions are severe. Moreover, political conditions can and do change rapidly and often result in sharp fluctuations in the amount of information available to the average citizen. It follows that the list of countries to which we would broadcast would have to be constantly changing.

Therefore, to undertake additional BIB-type broadcasting to countries outside the USSR and Eastern Europe might require the construction of a new world-wide network of transmitters, the cost of which could run well over \$100 million. The transmitters would have to be installed in a number of ~~appropriately~~ located countries in Asia, Africa

and Latin America. It is doubtful that the U.S. Government would be able to obtain agreement from third countries to lease most of the required transmitter sites.

Conclusions

-- With present program scheduling, there is no significant unused transmitter capacity available for sharing between VOA and RFE/RL, or between other Western broadcasters and either of those radios.

-- The rationale for two U.S. broadcasters to the USSR and Eastern Europe (VOA and RFE/RL), with distinct missions and separate identities, remains valid. Blurring the distinction between them, through merged program schedules and integrated transmitter networks, would diminish their individual effectiveness. While the Soviet and East European Governments might choose to use facilities sharing or program integration as a pretext for undermining other U.S. informational programs, these considerations should not prevent the short-term sharing of transmitter facilities in the future if that should prove necessary in an emergency.

-- A comprehensive outline of U.S. world-wide broadcasting needs calls for an addition of sixteen 250 KW transmitters for broadcasting to Eastern Europe and the USSR (5 for Voice of America, 11 for RFE/RL) and an addition of 12 VOA transmitters for broadcast to Asia and Africa, all of which can be installed in a period of three to five years.

-- Extending BIB broadcasting operations to countries outside Europe which restrict access of information to their citizens would be impractical for several reasons, including the large number of such countries, the frequent political changes taking place within them, the high cost of building a new worldwide transmitter network, and the difficulties in obtaining sites for the new transmitters.

-- The current crowding of shortwave broadcasting bands continues to reduce the quality of the signals on available frequencies. There will be a World Administrative Radio Conference in 1979 to address, among other subjects, the question of expanding the short-wave broadcast band. The Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee will consider the need for expansion of the shortwave broadcast bands in preparation for the conference.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Administration recommends the acquisition of sixteen new 250 KW transmitters for Europe (costing approximately 22-25 million) to provide VOA and RFE/RL with the capacity to meet the minimum technical requirements for the fulfillment of their missions, to permit RFE/RL to increase its ability to penetrate jamming, to upgrade existing underpowered facilities and to provide reserve capacity for equipment failure and times of international crisis. Acquisition of these transmitters should proceed as expeditiously as possible. Both BIB and USIA have determined that it is possible to locate the required new transmitters at existing sites in Western Europe.

2. The United States Government must keep under constant review situations that might arise to impair the technical effectiveness of our international broadcasting efforts (i. e., unwillingness of host governments to renew essential transmitter leases or expedite expansion of existing transmitter sites, renewed jamming of VOA as well as RFE/RL broadcasts). Should any of these situations arise, we should be prepared to re-examine the practical questions related to sharing transmission

facilities and to discuss with appropriate countries the installation of at least six additional transmitters for use by VOA and/or RFE/RL. VOA transmitters for Asia and Africa will be requested through normal budgetary channels.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Jim Schlesinger:

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Tax on Gas and Oil

cc: Jack Watson
Stu Eizenstat

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
	X	EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
	X	WATSON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
X	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY BILL
	Staffing comments should go to Bert Carp within 48 hours; due from Carp to Staff Secretary next day.

	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Staffing comments should go to Doug Huron within 48 hours; due from Huron to Staff Secretary next day.

ACTION	FYI	
		ARAGON
		BOURNE
		BRZEZINSKI
		BUTLER
		CARP
		H. CARTER
		CLOUGH
		FALLOWS
		FIRST LADY
		GAMMILL
		HARDEN
		HOYT
		HUTCHESON
		JAGODA
		KING
		KRAFT
		LANCE
		LINDER
		MITCHELL
		POSTON
		PRESS
		B. RAINWATER
X		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3-15-77

To Jim Schlesinger

I think we'll be
much better off to
shift to wellhead or
severance tax on oil
and gas vs taxation
at the consumer level

J. C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Secretary Califano -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Jack Watson
Stu Eizenstat

Re: Social Security, Welfare
Payments, etc.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*TO:
CALIFORNIA ACTION*

ACTION	FYI
	MONDALE
	COSTANZA
	X EIZENSTAT
	JORDAN
	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	POWELL
	X WATSON

FOR STAFFING
FOR INFORMATION
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	H. CARTER
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	FIRST LADY
	GAMMILL
	HARDEN
	HOYT
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
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	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
	WELLS
	VOORDE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3-15-77

To Joe Califano

What can we do to:

- a) have social security cards which can't be forged easily;
- b) eliminate more than one card per person;
- c) require positive identification of all welfare recipients when they qualify for benefits to avoid multiple payments to the same person;
- d) reduce use of consulting firms; and
- e) reduce number of conventions?

J Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

The Vice President
Stu Eizenstat

Re: Election Reform Message to
the Congress

The attached was returned in the President's
outbox and is forwarded to you for appropriate
action.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Hamilton Jordan
Bob Lipshutz
Frank Moore
Jim Fallows

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

The Vice President would like to discuss the proposals with you at lunch.

Hamilton's comments:

1. I agree with objective of direct election although I don't think we have fully assessed all of the subtle implications of that change. I could present arguments that it is politically beneficial for us in 1980, or I could present arguments that it would be detrimental.
2. I agree with Hatch Act changes. However, in addition to seeing these changes as being exclusively beneficial, we should realize that we are -- in effect -- removing the protection some employees enjoy from abuse by politically-oriented superiors."

Rick



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

ok
J

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT
STU EIZENSTAT

Stu

RE: ELECTION REFORM MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Attached is our proposed message on election reform. With your approval, we suggest sending it to the Hill late next week.

The message, which Jim Fallows has helped on, consists of five elements:

- 1). The Universal Voter Registration proposal which you already signed off on. We now have agreement on a specific bill with key House, Senate and labor leaders, and the bill will accompany the message. ok
- 2). Recommendation that public financing be extended to congressional elections. The message does not get very specific on the outstanding issues, recognizing that Congress is already far along and has a proprietary interest in working out the details. ok
- 3). Recommendations for strengthening the federal elections campaign act, proposed by Bob Lipshutz, which deal mostly with increasing opportunities for local participation in presidential elections and simplifying reporting requirements. ok
- 4). Recommendation for adoption of direct election amendment. We understand your concerns here, but continue to believe that this change deserves support on its merits. The measure has widespread support (see attached letter from six leaders of major groups) and has a reasonably good chance of success this session. Without your support, it would probably have very little chance. In our judgment, both public policy and political reasons warrant supporting the amendment. If you still have reservations about it, however, we will either delete

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or modify this section at your direction.

APPROVE _____ DELETE _____ MODIFY _____

5). Recommendation that the Hatch Act be changed to allow federal employees not in sensitive positions to participate in normal political activities. We have intentionally worded this language very generally because the effort on the Hill is already underway and because it did not seem wise to get into many of the outstanding issues.

MESSAGE APPROVED _____ CHANGES NEEDED _____

DRAFT - PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ON ELECTION REFORM

ok
as amended
JC

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I hereby transmit to the Congress my recommendations for reforms in our nation's election system.

The Vice President and I have developed these proposals in order to meet our commitment to the American people to work toward an electoral process which is open to the participation of all our citizens, which meets high ethical standards, and which operates in an efficient and responsive manner. I know that you in the Congress share these goals, and I applaud your efforts which are already underway to achieve them.

Voter Registration

My first proposal, and the one on which I will soon present a specific bill to the Congress, is designed to open up our system of voter registration.

The basis of our democratic system is the right of every eligible citizen to vote. In the 200 years of its history, this nation has greatly expanded the opportunity to vote to wider and wider groups of citizens.

Despite this progress, we have in recent years witnessed a disturbing trend toward lower and lower levels of voting by our citizens. I am deeply concerned that our country ranks behind at least twenty other democracies in its level of voter participation.

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Our country's disappointing record cannot be remedied by any one solution or any single piece of legislation.

[But millions of Americans are prevented or discouraged from voting in every election by antiquated and overly restrictive voter registration laws.] We can take one immediate step toward solving this serious problem by removing ^{antiquated} artificial and unnecessary obstacles which prevent voters from participating in the electoral process.

I am proposing to remove the unnecessary and unfair barriers by creating a method of universal voter registration. Under the legislation I will propose to the Congress, citizens qualified to vote under state laws could go to their polling places on the day of a Federal election and register there after proving their eligibility. The states would be encouraged to adopt a similar system of registration for state and local elections.

Under this plan, state and local officials ^{will} ~~would~~ continue to administer voter registration and elections, ^{and will} ~~They would~~ still register ^{as many} voters ^{as possible} prior to election day in the usual manner, and ~~our goal would be to encourage as much prior registration as possible~~ in order to avoid congestion at the polls on election day.

We would offer financial assistance to the states to employ additional registrars and to help pay the cost of

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registration by mail, traveling registrars, or any other pre-election day registration efforts the state might choose.

State and local officials would also have the option of using the money they receive under the plan to modernize what are often outmoded and poorly equipped systems of election administration. A new office within the Federal Election Commission would distribute the Federal funds and oversee the program.

I also propose that we enact very strong safeguards to protect the integrity of the election process. Willful fraud in registering to vote should bear the strong criminal penalties of five years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine already found in the Voting Rights Act. Any person who takes part in a scheme to falsely identify or register voters should be similarly punished, and multiple convictions should lead to even stiffer penalties. The government should seek injunctive relief in Federal court to stop any patterns of fraudulent activity which might arise.

States should be allowed to require ^{all} ~~every~~ persons registering at the polls to prove ^{their} ~~his or her~~ identity and place of residence by approved forms of identification. ^{Self} ~~Each~~ registrant, should be informed of the state's qualifications for voting and be required to sign a statement, under oath and criminal penalty, that ^{they} ~~he or she~~ meet those qualifications.

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While these safeguards are important and necessary, I am optimistic that they will rarely be tested and the record suggests that they will rarely be needed.

This system of election-day registration is already employed in a number of states, and the record shows that it has usually increased voter participation without increasing voter fraud. Four out of the five states with the highest voter turnout rates in the 1976 election permitted citizens to register ^{and vote} ~~[and vote]~~ on election day.

Campaign Financing

My second recommendation deals with the way in which we pay the costs of Presidential and Congressional campaigns.

In 1974, Congress took the historic step of establishing a system of public financing for Presidential primary and general elections. I urge the Congress to extend this important reform to campaigns for both the House and Senate.

The record of the first publicly financed Presidential campaign has demonstrated that public financing is workable and widely accepted by the American people. Public financing of candidates not only minimizes even the appearance of obligation to special interest contributors, but also provides an opportunity for qualified persons who lack funds to seek public office. It would be a tragic irony if the 1974 law,

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which reduced the pressure special interests could place on Presidential candidates, increased the pressures on candidates for Congress as the large contributors look for new means of gaining influence with their political funds.

The method we select should allow each American the option of deciding whether to participate in public funding. The check-off provision on the income tax form accomplishes this goal for Presidential campaign financing. The check-off method should also be used to raise the funds necessary to support Congressional candidates.

Congress is best suited to decide on an exact formula for financing campaigns. However, I believe there are several features which should be part of any plan:

* First, the plan should require that candidates demonstrate substantial public support before they get public funds to help finance their campaigns. This would guard against frivolous candidates depleting the limited public funds available. The matching formula in the Presidential primaries provided a successful link between total public funds received and a candidate's ability to demonstrate citizen support through small private donations.

* Second, the limit on overall expenditures should not be ^{excessively} so low so as to ~~prevent challengers from competing effectively~~ with incumbents. *so as to prevent an adequate presentation of candidate and their platforms to the people.*

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* Third, we should ensure that candidates who accept public financing are not placed at a serious disadvantage in competing with opponents who have extraordinarily abundant private funds. Under the recent Supreme Court ruling, if a candidate refuses to accept public financing, then no limitation can be imposed on the amount of ^{personal which may be spent on the} funds ~~he may spend on his~~ campaign. But ^a if ~~his~~ less wealthy opponent does accept public financing, ~~he may~~ ^{stricter spending limits may be imposed.} ~~be strictly limited in the amount he is allowed to spend.~~

Greater fairness could be achieved in situations of this kind. One approach would be to remove the spending limit on the publicly financed candidate so he would be able to compete more adequately with an opponent who is using unlimited personal funds.

* Fourth, I favor the broadest possible application of public financing. It should apply to primaries as well as general elections. I hope the Congress will act soon to pass legislation so that public financing can be available for the 1978 Congressional campaigns. It is important to begin now with public financing for general elections, even if a plan for primaries cannot be adopted this year.

Strengthening the Federal Election Campaign Act

While public financing of the last Presidential election was highly successful, my third suggestion is for certain modifications which our experience has shown could make the system work even better.

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We noticed, for example, that there was less activity than in the past at the state and local level during the general election campaign. ^{opportunities} More ~~funds~~ should be available ^{for more} to encourage grass-roots participation in Presidential races. This could be accomplished by allowing Presidential candidates to designate one committee in each state to raise and spend a limited amount of money for campaign activities within the state. A reasonable limit for this activity might be 2¢ per eligible voter. Such committees could be allowed to delegate spending authority to local committees, but they should still be responsible for reporting contributions and expenditures.

Another useful change would be to grant Presidential candidates an additional amount to cover the ^{great} ~~many~~ costs of complying with election laws--for example, filing the many necessary financial reports. We should prohibit the private raising of funds for this purpose.

[Local party organizations should not have to report any minor expenditures they make for such non-media items as buttons, bumper stickers, and handbills for Presidential candidates.] Similarly, ^{??} when Congressional candidates mention in their advertising the Presidential nominee of their party, the expenditure should not have to be reported by the Presidential candidate.

We could also simplify the reporting of contributions and expenditures by directing the Federal Election Commission

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to establish common reporting and accounting systems to be used by all candidates.

Finally, we must clarify the law as it applies to the financial aspects of the delegate selection process. Contributions to delegates, or candidates for delegate, should be charged against a Presidential candidate only when such delegates are pledged to the specific candidate. Also, a delegate's expenses for attending a convention should not be considered as contributions or expenditures for the candidate he or she supports.

Direct Popular Election of the President

My fourth recommendation is that the Congress adopt a Constitutional amendment to provide for direct popular election of the President.

Such an amendment, which would abolish the Electoral College, will ensure that the candidate chosen by the voters actually becomes President. Under the Electoral College, it is always possible that the winner of the popular vote will not be elected. This has already happened in three elections, 1824, 1876, and 1888. In the last election, the result could have been changed by a ^{small} shift of only ~~9,245~~ votes in Ohio and Hawaii, despite a popular vote difference of 1.7 million.

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for Preservation Purposes**

I do not recommend a Constitutional amendment lightly. I think the amendment process must be reserved for an issue of overriding governmental significance. But the method by which we elect ^{our} President is such an issue.

I will not be proposing a specific direct election amendment. I prefer to allow the Congress to proceed with its work without the interruption of a new proposal.

Political Rights of Federal Employees

My fifth and final recommendation concerns the political rights of federal employees.

Over 2.8 million federal employees, including postal workers and workers for the District of Columbia, are now denied a full opportunity to participate in the electoral process. Unlike other Americans, they cannot run as a partisan candidate for any public office, cannot hold party office, and cannot even do volunteer work in a partisan political campaign.

I favor revising the Hatch Act to free those federal employees not in sensitive positions from these restrictions. There should be exceptions ^{for} those employees who have access to confidential files, who have law enforcement responsibilities, or who determine whether major contracts or other benefits will be awarded, must retain both the appearance, and the substance of impartiality. For employees in such sensitive

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for Preservation Purposes**

positions who are not subject to Senate confirmation, restrictions on political activity are necessary. Acting on standards prescribed by Congress, the Civil Service Commission should determine which positions should be treated as sensitive in all relevant government agencies.

Under such a Hatch Act revision, the vast majority of federal employees would be able to participate in federal, state and local elections and other political functions. But federal employees have a special obligation not to abuse their public service responsibility. I favor strong penalties for any federal employee who attempts to influence or coerce another federal employee into political activity, or who engages in political activity while on the job. I also favor maximum reliance on a strong Civil Service Commission to vigorously prosecute employees who violate regulations against this kind of behavior.

#

March 10, 1977

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

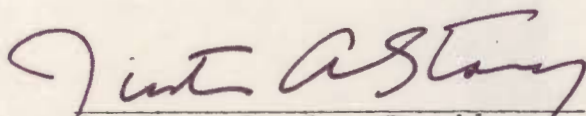
Dear Mr. President:

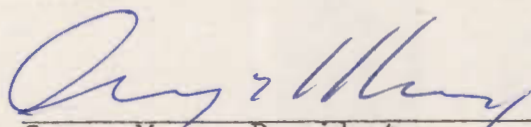
Each of our organizations has endorsed Senate Joint Resolution Number 1, the proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the Electoral College and provide for the direct election of the President and Vice President. We consider this long-needed reform to be a matter of considerable importance, and we hope you will join us and the vast majority of all Americans in support of prompt adoption of this Amendment.

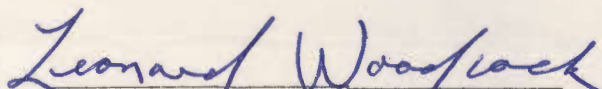
It is significant that a Gallup Poll released February 10, 1977, showed five to one support for a constitutional amendment to allow direct election of the President. Approval was overwhelming in every region and among Democrats, Republicans and Independents alike.

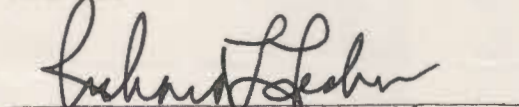
Because you have asked the Vice President to participate in policy decisions concerning electoral reform, we are taking the liberty of directing a copy of this letter to him. Of course each of us would be pleased to meet with you if you would like to discuss in detail our support for this improvement in the democratic process.

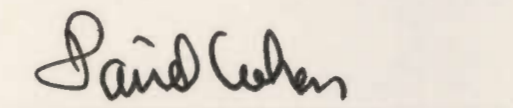
Sincerely,

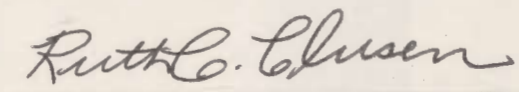

Justin A. Stanley, President
American Bar Association


George Meany, President
AFL-CIO


Leonard Woodcock, President
International Union, UAW


Richard L. Leshner, President
Chamber of Commerce of the
United States


David Cohen, President
Common Cause


Ruth C. Clusen, President
League of Women Voters of the
United States

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: March 14, 1977

MEMORANDUM

FOR ACTION:

Hamilton Jordan
Frank Moore

FOR INFORMATION: Bob Lipshutz
Jody Powell
Jack Watson
Bob Linder

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: The Vice President/Stu Eizenstat memo re Election
Reform Message to the Congress.

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED
TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 9:00 A.M.

DAY: Wednesday

DATE: March 16, 1977

ACTION REQUESTED:

☒ Your comments

Other:

STAFF RESPONSE:

☐ I concur.

☐ No comment.

Please note other comments below:

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bak Lenciu

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
X		JORDAN
X	X	LIPSHUTZ
X		MOORE
X		POWELL
X		WATSON

*have come
already*

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
X	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
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		B. RAINWATER
		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT
STU EIZENSTAT

Stu

RE: ELECTION REFORM MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Attached is our proposed message on election reform. With your approval, we suggest sending it to the Hill late next week.

The message, which Jim Fallows has helped on, consists of five elements:

- 1). The Universal Voter Registration proposal which you already signed off on. We now have agreement on a specific bill with key House, Senate and labor leaders, and the bill will accompany the message.
- 2). Recommendation that public financing be extended to congressional elections. The message does not get very specific on the outstanding issues, recognizing that Congress is already far along and has a proprietary interest in working out the details.
- 3). Recommendations for strengthening the federal elections campaign act, proposed by Bob Lipshutz, which deal mostly with increasing opportunities for local participation in presidential elections and simplifying reporting requirements.
- 4). Recommendation for adoption of direct election amendment. We understand your concerns here, but continue to believe that this change deserves support on its merits. The measure has widespread support (see attached letter from six leaders of major groups) and has a reasonably good chance of success this session. Without your support, it would probably have very little chance. In our judgment, both public policy and political reasons warrant supporting the amendment. If you still have reservations about it, however, we will either delete

or modify this section at your direction.

APPROVE _____ DELETE _____ MODIFY _____

5). Recommendation that the Hatch Act be changed to allow federal employees not in sensitive positions to participate in normal political activities. We have intentionally worded this language very generally because the effort on the Hill is already underway and because it did not seem wise to get into many of the outstanding issues.

MESSAGE APPROVED _____ CHANGES NEEDED _____

DRAFT - PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ON ELECTION REFORM

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I hereby transmit to the Congress my recommendations for reforms in our nation's election system.

The Vice President and I have developed these proposals in order to meet our commitment to the American people to work toward an electoral process which is open to the participation of all our citizens, which meets high ethical standards, and which operates in an efficient and responsive manner. I know that you in the Congress share these goals, and I applaud your efforts which are already underway to achieve them.

Voter Registration

My first proposal, and the one on which I will soon present a specific bill to the Congress, is designed to open up our system of voter registration.

The basis of our democratic system is the right of every eligible citizen to vote. In the 200 years of its history, this nation has greatly expanded the opportunity to vote to wider and wider groups of citizens.

Despite this progress, we have in recent years witnessed a disturbing trend toward lower and lower levels of voting by our citizens. I am deeply concerned that our country ranks behind at least twenty other democracies in its level of voter participation.

Our country's disappointing record cannot be remedied by any one solution or any single piece of legislation. But millions of Americans are prevented or discouraged from voting in every election by antiquated and overly restrictive voter registration laws. We can take one immediate step toward solving this serious problem by removing artificial and unnecessary obstacles which prevent voters from participating in the electoral process.

I am proposing to remove the unnecessary and unfair barriers by creating a method of universal voter registration. Under the legislation I will propose to the Congress, citizens qualified to vote under state laws could go to their polling places on the day of a Federal election and register there after proving their eligibility. The states would be encouraged to adopt a similar system of registration for state and local elections.

Under this plan, state and local officials would continue to administer voter registration and elections. They would still register voters prior to election day in the usual manner, and our goal would be to encourage as much prior registration as possible in order to avoid congestion at the polls on election day.

We would offer financial assistance to the states to employ additional registrars and to help pay the cost of

registration by mail, traveling registrars, or any other pre-election day registration efforts the state might choose.

State and local officials would also have the option of using the money they receive under the plan to modernize what are often outmoded and poorly equipped systems of election administration. A new office within the Federal Election Commission would distribute the Federal funds and oversee the program.

I also propose that we enact very strong safeguards to protect the integrity of the election process. Willful fraud in registering to vote should bear the strong criminal penalties of five years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine already found in the Voting Rights Act. Any person who takes part in a scheme to falsely identify or register voters should be similarly punished, and multiple convictions should lead to even stiffer penalties. The government should seek injunctive relief in Federal court to stop any patterns of fraudulent activity which might arise.

States should be allowed to require every person registering at the polls to prove his or her identity and place of residence by approved forms of identification. Each registrant should be informed of the state's qualifications for voting and be required to sign a statement, under oath and criminal penalty, that he or she meets those qualifications.

While these safeguards are important and necessary, I am optimistic that they will rarely be tested and the record suggests that they will rarely be needed.

This system of election-day registration is already employed in a number of states, and the record shows that it has usually increased voter participation without increasing voter fraud. Four out of the five states with the highest voter turnout rates in the 1976 election permitted citizens to register and vote, on election day.

Campaign Financing

My second recommendation deals with the way in which we pay the costs of Presidential and Congressional campaigns.

In 1974, Congress took the historic step of establishing a system of public financing for Presidential primary and general elections. I urge the Congress to extend this important reform to campaigns for both the House and Senate.

The record of the first publicly financed Presidential campaign has demonstrated that public financing is workable and widely accepted by the American people. Public financing of candidates not only minimizes even the appearance of obligation to special interest contributors, but also provides an opportunity for qualified persons who lack funds to seek public office. It would be a tragic irony if the 1974 law,

which reduced the pressure special interests could place on Presidential candidates, increased the pressures on candidates for Congress as the large contributors look for new means of gaining influence with their political funds.

The method we select should allow each American the option of deciding whether to participate in public funding. The check-off provision on the income tax form accomplishes this goal for Presidential campaign financing. The check-off method should also be used to raise the funds necessary to support Congressional candidates.

Congress is best suited to decide on an exact formula for financing campaigns. However, I believe there are several features which should be part of any plan:

- * First, the plan should require that candidates demonstrate substantial public support before they get public funds to help finance their campaigns. . This would guard against frivolous candidates depleting the limited public funds available. The matching formula in the Presidential primaries provided a successful link between total public funds received and a candidate's ability to demonstrate citizen support through small private donations.

- * Second, the limit on overall expenditures should not be so low so as to prevent challengers from competing effectively with incumbents.

* Third, we should ensure that candidates who accept public financing are not placed at a serious disadvantage in competing with opponents who have extraordinarily abundant private funds. Under the recent Supreme Court ruling, if a candidate refuses to accept public financing, then no limitation can be imposed on the amount of funds he may spend on his campaign. But if his less wealthy opponent does accept public financing, he may be strictly limited in the amount he is allowed to spend.

Greater fairness could be achieved in situations of this kind. One approach would be to remove the spending limit on the publicly financed candidate so he would be able to compete more adequately with an opponent who is using unlimited personal funds.

* Fourth, I favor the broadest possible application of public financing. It should apply to primaries as well as general elections. I hope the Congress will act soon to pass legislation so that public financing can be available for the 1978 Congressional campaigns. It is important to begin now with public financing for general elections, even if a plan for primaries cannot be adopted this year.

Strengthening the Federal Election Campaign Act

While public financing of the last Presidential election was highly successful, my third suggestion is for certain modifications which our experience has shown could make the system work even better.

We noticed, for example, that there was less activity than in the past at the state and local level during the general election campaign. More funds should be available to encourage grass-roots participation in Presidential races. This could be accomplished by allowing Presidential candidates to designate one committee in each state to raise and spend a limited amount of money for campaign activities within the state. A reasonable limit for this activity might be 2¢ per eligible voter. Such committees could be allowed to delegate spending authority to local committees, but they should still be responsible for reporting contributions and expenditures.

Another useful change would be to grant Presidential candidates an additional amount to cover the many costs of complying with election laws--for example, filing the many necessary financial reports. We should prohibit the private raising of funds for this purpose.

Local party organizations should not have to report any minor expenditures they make for such non-media items as buttons, bumper stickers, and handbills for Presidential candidates. Similarly, when Congressional candidates mention in their advertising the Presidential nominee of their party, the expenditure should not have to be reported by the Presidential candidate.

We could also simplify the reporting of contributions and expenditures by directing the Federal Election Commission

to establish common reporting and accounting systems to be used by all candidates.

Finally, we must clarify the law as it applies to the financial aspects of the delegate selection process. Contributions to delegates, or candidates for delegate, should be charged against a Presidential candidate only when such delegates are pledged to the specific candidate. Also, a delegate's expenses for attending a convention should not be considered as contributions or expenditures for the candidate he or she supports.

Direct Popular Election of the President

My fourth recommendation is that the Congress adopt a Constitutional amendment to provide for direct popular election of the President.

Such an amendment, which would abolish the Electoral College, will ensure that the candidate chosen by the voters actually becomes President. Under the Electoral College, it is always possible that the winner of the popular vote will not be elected. This has already happened in three elections, 1824, 1876, and 1888. In the last election, the result could have been changed by a shift of only 9,245 votes in Ohio and Hawaii, despite a popular vote difference of 1.7 million.

I do not recommend a Constitutional amendment lightly. I think the amendment process must be reserved for an issue of overriding governmental significance. But the method by which we elect President is such an issue.

I will not be proposing a specific direct election amendment. I prefer to allow the Congress to proceed with its work without the interruption of a new proposal.

Political Rights of Federal Employees

My fifth and final recommendation concerns the political rights of federal employees.

Over 2.8 million federal employees, including postal workers and workers for the District of Columbia, are now denied a full opportunity to participate in the electoral process. Unlike other Americans, they cannot run as a partisan candidate for any public office, cannot hold party office, and cannot even do volunteer work in a partisan political campaign.

I favor revising the Hatch Act to free those federal employees not in sensitive positions from these restrictions. There should be exceptions: those employees who have access to confidential files, who have law enforcement responsibilities, or who determine whether major contracts or other benefits will be awarded, must retain both the appearance, and the substance of impartiality. For employees in such sensitive

positions who are not subject to Senate confirmation, restrictions on political activity are necessary. Acting on standards prescribed by Congress, the Civil Service Commission should determine which positions should be treated as sensitive in all relevant government agencies.

Under such a Hatch Act revision, the vast majority of federal employees would be able to participate in federal, state and local elections and other political functions. But federal employees have a special obligation not to abuse their public service responsibility. I favor strong penalties for any federal employee who attempts to influence or coerce another federal employee into political activity, or who engages in political activity while on the job. I also favor maximum reliance on a strong Civil Service Commission to vigorously prosecute employees who violate regulations against this kind of behavior.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

EYES ONLY

FROM: Charlie Schultze *CLS*
SUBJECT: Industrial Production in February

The Federal Reserve Board will release tomorrow (Tuesday, March 15 at 4:00 p.m.) its estimate of industrial output in February. The figures will show an increase of 1 percent, following a decline of 0.8 percent in January. Increases in February were widespread by industry category, as production snapped back from cold-weather plant shutdowns.

Over the past 4 months, industrial output has risen at about a 7 percent annual rate. This is a fairly good rate of increase, and is consistent with our forecast for economic growth in 1977.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

EYES ONLY

Jody Powell

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. This copy is sent to you for your personal information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Industrial Production in
February

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI
	MONDALE
	COSTANZA
	EIZENSTAT
	JORDAN
	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	X POWELL - cc / EYES ONLY
	WATSON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY BILL
	Staffing comments should go to Bert Carp within 48 hours; due from Carp to Staff Secretary next day.

	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Staffing comments should go to Doug Huron within 48 hours; due from Huron to Staff Secretary next day.

ACTION	FYI
	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	GAMMILL
	HARDEN
	HOYT
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	KING
	KRAFT
	LANCE
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	POSTON
	PRESS
	B. RAINWATER
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
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	VOORDE

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U.S. Balance of Payment Data:

1975-1977

	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976(e)</u>	<u>1977(p)</u>
Merchandise trade	+9.0	-9.6	-16.56 - 18.0
Services, grants, etc.	<u>+2.7</u>	<u>+8.8</u>	<u>+12.0</u>
Current account	+11.7	-0.8	- 4.5 - 6.0

1976, estimated

1977, forecast

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Secretary Brown -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Letter from Mrs. James W. Totten
re General Patton

cc: Z. Brzezinski

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*TO: BROWN
ACTION*

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

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		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

March 7



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

SC

cc:
Harold Brown
J. C.
please
comment.

Brick Ends
Highland Street
South Hamilton, Mass. 01982

Dear President Carter

In writing to you, I am taking the advice of my late father, General George S. Patton Jr, who taught us that when you want something you go straight to the top and let it filter down. I am also influenced by your telethon, when you proved that your door was open to your people by opening it, not just talking about it.

I am writing to you, without his knowledge, about my brother, Major General George S. Patton, presently commanding the 2nd Armored Division at Fort Hood, Texas. It would take you less time to read his official record, which is at your immediate disposal in the Department of the Army, than it will to read my letter. However, there would be no reason for you to do so unless you had my letter to read.

My brother, class of 1946, USMA, is everything that he was born and trained to be; a credit to his parents, to the Military Academy, to its motto of "Duty, Honor, Country" which has inspired his life of dedicated service. He has neither used our father's name for his own benefit, nor tried to be his carbon copy.

Due to an unfortunate accident---ironically enough, it happened when he was on his way to address a congress of Boy Scouts---his hip joint was smashed some years ago, and after lengthy surgery and treatment, and the courageous acceptance of increasing pain, he was forced to undergo major surgery and have the joint replaced with a plastic and metal prosthesis. He assumed command of the 2nd Armored Division since that operation and has been physically able to perform every duty. He walks with a slight limp.

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However, due to this physical imperfection he has been passed over for the third time by the promotion board and will have to retire for age in grade in November of 1978. His tour with the 2nd Armored Division terminates in August of this year.

My brother is only 53 years old. He is a dedicated, able and experienced officer, with real ability to command men and to command their loyalty also. Retirement would mean no monetary hardship to him as he has an inherited income. With the freedom that this gives, he has never been afraid to "rock the boat" or to settle back into the scenery and wait for his retirement and his "perks". In fact, he is a mover and a shaker, a man of conviction. The army has been his whole life and he has served his country well. It would be a waste of excellent material, not to mention government funded education and experience, to retire him with years of useful service still in him.

In addition to his own worth, his wife Joanne is one of the outstanding women in the service today. She is a sixth generation army junior and understands the true meaning of service, sacrifice and partnership. Wherever they have been stationed, she has introduced programs for handicapped children, enlisted wives, volunteer services, and wives whose husbands are overseas. She has been extraordinary helpmate not only to my brother but to his commands.

In addition to this, there is another facet to the question of keeping General Patton on active duty. The name Patton still carries great significance in Europe, where the men and women who were children when the Third Army liberated their territories are now running their governments. Our father, General Patton, was a hero to them and he and his army stood for the best that America has to offer. My brother has served numerous tours abroad, and is always given extraordinary recognition and appreciation, and people listen to him.

I know that there are more generals in the army today than there are places to put them. As the widow of a Major General, and the

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mother of two regular army officers ---seventh generation army officers---I know that a commanding officer wants his own "team", and has younger men of promise that he wants to bring along. But I know also that it would be a great waste of a professional and national asset to put my brother "out to pasture." Good men are hard to find. It is easier to talk about patriotism than to practise it; any draftee can die for his country, but it takes a real man to live for his country, year after year; taking the tribulations in his stride, that come so much more often than the adulation; and at the end, dying in harness for the same reward---the muffled drums, the flag covered coffin, the riderless horse and the bugle playing the Last Post.

As a man also in the service of our country and as a man who most evidently understands its needs, I hope you will take General Patton's case under your personal supervision and consideration. There must be a place in the army or the service that would benefit by his experience and example.

yours very truly
Ruth Ellen Patton Totten
Mrs James W. Totten

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Z. Brzezinski -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Book

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI
	MONDALE
	COSTANZA
	EIZENSTAT
	JORDAN
	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON

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	SCHLESINGER
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	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
	WELLS
	VOORDE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB.*

SUBJECT: My Book

About two weeks ago I gave you the advance galleys of my book, which I instructed the publisher to indefinitely postpone.

I doubt that you have had time to look at it, and so let me say that it is essentially a broad analysis of America's position in the contemporary world, rather along the lines of the "seminar" that we had one evening with your family.

I have now received the enclosed letter from the publisher, pleading for permission to publish the book. The publisher argues that the book provides a useful analysis of global change, and pledges himself to make it very clear "that it was completed long before" I took my present position and "that the book is not being published as the work of an Assistant to the President but instead as the work of a well-known scholar who completed the work while at the University."

Without consulting you, I decided not to publish the book because I felt that might be more prudent; in view of this letter, I feel I should ask for your decision.

Stick to decision to postpone
indefinitely publication _____

Go ahead and publish _____

Comment _____

Zbig - I haven't read it yet. I'm doubtful about propriety of publication now, but am not sure - I'll look it over when I have time - J



1817

Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

New York Hagerstown San Francisco London

Erwin A. Glikes
Vice President &
Publisher, Trade Department

10 East 53d Street, New York, New York 10022

President & Publisher
Basic Books, Inc.

March 8, 1977

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dr. Brzezinski:

I know that you have been concerned about the propriety of publishing the book we have been working on for the past year, now that you occupy the sensitive office of Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. If I may, I would like to offer some thoughts and suggestions which I hope might speak to these concerns.

Foremost, as you know, it has always been our intention to present this book solely for what it is: the considered reflections and findings of an internationally-known scholar on an important, historical development, that is, the impact of the great demographic changes taking place in the world today when considered side by side with the ever-increasing literacy of the peoples of the world. It seems to me, that your book, by making us all more sensitive to this important, historical change, does an enormous service and makes a major contribution to our understanding of the conditions to which the American government will have to be responsive in the years ahead.

It is very clear to us and we would commit ourselves to making every effort to make it clear to others that this is not a policy book, but an historical and analytical work of a respected scholar and that it was completed long before you took on your present responsibilities.

Let me go a step further by assuring you that you would have final jacket copy and advertising approval prior to our making any public representations of this book and that we would do everything possible to make it clear that this book is not being published as the work of an Assistant to the President, but instead as the

Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

Cable: Harpsam Phone: 212-593-7000

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski

2

March 8, 1977

work of a well-known scholar who completed the work while at the university.

I believe that the book is so clear and moving an analysis of how the world has changed in the past decade that it would be a great loss to the public if it could not be made available. //

You know, of course, that I will faithfully abide by your decision in any case, but I am convinced, as are my colleagues, that it is a work that would reflect credit on our government for having chosen a scholar with so broad and generous a comprehension of worldwide aspirations as is revealed in this small book. I most sincerely hope that it will be possible for people to read it.

With warmest good wishes, as always,

E. S. J. / 14

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Z. Brzezinski -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Letter from Former Ambassador
Smith re Cuba

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI
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	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
	WELLS
	VOORDE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

1021 NORTH OCEAN BOULEVARD
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA 33480

March 7, 1977

3619
info
J

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

As the last United States Ambassador to Cuba before Castro took over the government on January 1, 1959, I am deeply concerned that the current policy of the United States toward Cuba and the Caribbean be in the best national interest of the United States. I feel that it is my responsibility to report to you that there is considerable concern; and in some quarters indignation about the administration's policy toward Cuba as it has been reported in the press. A number of people have approached me and asked that I issue a public statement. In order to be helpful to you and your administration, I would rather express myself privately to you at this time.

In terms of its idealism, the Monroe Doctrine has served our national interests as well as the national interest of the majority of freedom loving countries in the Caribbean and Latin America. We should continue to protect them.

I admire very much the idealistic tone of your administration in its opening days. I too have always been an idealist. However, it is vital to our national security that both the political facts of life and a realistic assessment of the situation be taken into account.

It is with this spirit that I offer the following:

Is the administration prepared to accept:

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

The President
The White House
March 7, 1977
Page 2.

- A. That Castro continue to abolish all personal freedom and human rights?

I have admired the way in which you have stood up for the principals of human rights and individual freedom while at the same time developing negotiations on arms limitation and other matters with the Soviet Union. I believe that the same negotiations should be applied with relations to Cuba.

- B. That political prisoners should remain in jail?

Some have been in prison since Castro took over on January 1, 1959. Others have been in jail since the Bay of Pigs Invasion in April 1961.

- C. That we surrender the major American Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay?

Since March 1958, Castro has engaged in harassing activities to acquire the Base. At that time, the water supply at Guantanamo came from a plant at Yateras located in Cuban territory, five miles from the Base. Castro threatened to shutoff the water supply by damaging the plant. On July 28, 1958, a detachment of United States Marines took over the water plant at Yateras. The United States had no other choice. It was absolutely necessary to protect the water supply, because 10,000 people had no other source of water. Also the action taken in dispatching the Marines for the protection of the plant was done with the advance approval of the government of Cuba.

The President
The White House
March 7, 1977
Page 3.

- D. That Castro continue to promote further subversion and revolution throughout Latin America - especially at our doorstep in the Caribbean?
- E. That there will be no on-site inspection of the Russian submarine base at Cienfuegos, Cuba for missile bearing submarines?
- F. That there will be no on-site inspection of the caves for atomic missiles?
- G. That we ignore American claims for approximately two billion dollars of American assets illegally expropriated when Castro took over the government of Cuba?

No matter what coloration is put on it, the fact remains that International Communism has established a base ninety miles from our shores, from which it is organizing under the leadership of Fidel Castro against the United States throughout Latin America.

Communism is presently established in Guyana and Jamaica. Establishment of Communism in the Dominican Republic was halted by the intervention of the American Marines during the Johnson administration. Castro has warned the government in Nassau of his possible intention to take over the Bahamas.

It is our duty and obligation to prevent the entire Caribbean from becoming a red lake. To coddle Castro means further surrender to Communist imperialism and subversion and acceptance of Fidel's

The President
The White House
March 7, 1977
Page 4.

vilification against the United States. Instead of pampering Castro, it seems to me that we should wage prudent political warfare - especially in the nations at our doorstep.

If we continue to permit the establishment of Communist states on our doorstep, it is not only a military threat to the entire Western hemisphere but a tacit admission on our part that Communism is destined to engulf the world.

From experience, I learned that there is but one constant in Castro's nature i.e., his hatred for the United States. In a nationwide radio-television address on December 2, 1961, Fidel Castro said: "I am a Marxist-Leninist and will be one until the day I die." the rest of the world is "on the way to Communism." Do we have any reason not to believe him!

Respectfully yours,



Earl E. T. Smith
United States Ambassador
to Cuba
1957-59

EETS:ml

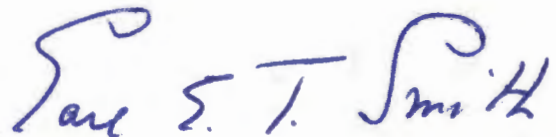
1021 NORTH OCEAN BOULEVARD
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA

March 11, 1977

Dear Mrs. Clough:

Please be good enough to
bring the enclosed letter to the
attention of the President.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Earl E. T. Smith". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping "E" and "S".

Earl E. T. Smith
United States Ambassador
to Cuba
1957-59

EETS:ml
Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

George Schultze -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Refund able Tax Credit

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI
	MONDALE
	COSTANZA
	EIZENSTAT
	JORDAN
	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON

FOR STAFFING
FOR INFORMATION
X FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY BILL
Staffing comments should go to Bert Carp within 48 hours; due from Carp to Staff Secretary next day.

CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Staffing comments should go to Doug Huron within 48 hours; due from Huron to Staff Secretary next day.

ACTION	FYI
	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	GAMMILL
	HARDEN
	HOYT
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	KING
	KRAFT
	LANCE
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	POSTON
	PRESS
	B. RAINWATER
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
X	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
	WELLS
	VOORDE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SAEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: FRANK MOORE *FM*
SUBJECT: Refundable Tax Credit -- Senator Long
will discuss with you today.

Schultze
brief comment - re
advisability for companies who pay
for health care -
for employees
in the future.
vs payment from collected
taxes -
JL

Investment tax credit can be used only by taxpayers who have income subject to taxes. Therefore, a company operating at a loss cannot take advantage of the investment tax credit because it has no tax liability to which the credit can be applied.

The Internal Revenue Code provides for a carry back and carry forward of unused investment tax credits so that a corporation which operates at a loss in one year may carry forward or carry back that year's unused credits and apply them against its tax liability for a year in which it operates at a profit. However, companies in some industries such as the airline industry have experienced several consecutive loss years and run the risk of losing unused investment tax credits because the carry back/carry forward period has expired.

The refundable investment tax credit proposal would provide that companies such as many of those in the airline industry who cannot use their investment tax credits and will lose them as a result of expiration of the carry back/carry forward period can receive a cash payment from the Treasury in an amount equal to its unused tax credits.

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for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Bert Lance
Stu Eizenstat
Frank Moore
Charlie Schultze
Jack Watson

The attached was returned in the
President's outbox and is forwarded
to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Meeting with Senator Long on
Tax Stimulus and Countercyclical
Revenue Sharing



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON 20220

977 MAR 14 PM 8 11

March 14, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Meeting with Senator Long on Tax Stimulus and
Countercyclical Revenue Sharing

1) Rebate

Although Senator Long is not enthusiastic, he will probably go along with the rebate. He has some pet tax ideas, such as a credit for child care and home care for the elderly. To accommodate the cost of these ideas, he flirts with reducing the rebate from \$50. to \$40., but if we agree to look closely at them in Comprehensive Tax Reform, we can probably hold him to the \$50. level for the rebate. I recommend that you impress upon him the necessity for keeping the rebate at \$50., and that you suggest we look at child and elderly care credits later in the year.

2) Investment Tax Credit

Senator Long agrees that we should increase this tax credit from 10 percent to 12 percent, but would like it to be permanent. Since the permanency is a formality, I recommend that you accept. Senator Long also agrees with Senator Kennedy's concept that the investment tax credit be made "refundable", (that is, available to businesses that do not make a profit), provided this is considered as a reduction of revenue rather than an appropriation (as recommended by OMB). This is to retain control in the Finance Committee rather than in the Appropriations Committee. I suggest you tell him that these questions should be deferred until we consider Comprehensive Tax Reform in the Fall.

3) Countercyclical Revenue Sharing

Senator Long will move on the authorization for Countercyclical Revenue Sharing, but his quid pro quo is (a) that he feels bound to attach the Johnston Amendment to it in regard to the water projects and (b) that something be done about his constituent sugar industry. He talked in terms of a 14 cent price support, although I implied that was too high. He feels very strongly about the water projects, although he does not seem insistent that all the projects be re-considered. (As long as his own are, of course.)

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for Preservation Purposes**

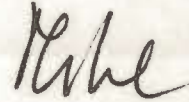
March 14, 1977

Subject: Meeting with Senator Long on Tax Stimulus
and Countercyclical Revenue Sharing

Page 2

4) Overall Prospects of Stimulus Package

While it now seems that we will be successful in the Senate Finance Committee, the votes are very tentative in regard to the rebate, and it may require a lot of persuasion. We will be constantly monitoring the mark-up beginning tomorrow and will keep you informed.



W. Michael Blumenthal

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Z. Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Jack Watson
Ham Jordan

Guest List for Working Dinner for
Prime Minister Fukuda on 3/21

"DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
CANCELLED PER E.O. 12356, SEC. 1.3 AND
ARCHIVIST'S MEMO OF MARCH 16, 1983"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

—
(C. Watson
Jordan
(Confidential))

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USEACTION

March 14, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB.*

SUBJECT: Revised Guest List for the "Working Dinner"
for Prime Minister Fukuda on March 21

Per your request, we have revised the guest list for the working dinner for Prime Minister Fukuda to include members of the Congress.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the revised guest list attached at Tab A.

Approve ✓ Disapprove

*Add Gov.
Jerry Brown as my
personal guest - J.C.*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

SUGGESTED GUEST LIST
PRESIDENT CARTER'S DINNER IN HONOR OF
THE PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN
MARCH 21, 1977

His Excellency Takeo Fukuda
Prime Minister of Japan

His Excellency Ichiro Hatoyama
Minister of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency Sunao Sonoda
State Minister

His Excellency The Ambassador of Japan Fumihiko Togo

Mr. Toshio Yamazaki
Director General, American Affairs Bureau
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

(We do not yet know the composition of the Japanese party. Including Embassy personnel, it will total at least 14.)

The Vice President

Secretary of State Vance

Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal

Secretary of Defense Brown

Secretary of Agriculture Bergland

Secretary of Commerce Kreps

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski

Dr. James R. Schlesinger

Dr. Charles Schultze

Gov. Jerry Brown

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke

The U.S. Ambassador-designate (if nominated)

or

Charge' d'Affaires Thomas P. Shoesmith a.i.

American Embassy, Tokyo

Mr. Henry Owen (handling Economic Summit)

Senator Harry Byrd (D-Virginia)

Majority Leader

Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii)

Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio)

Senator William Roth, Jr. (R-Delaware)

Congressman Tip O'Neill, Jr. (D-Massachusetts)

Speaker of the House

Congressman Lester Wolff (D-NY)

Congressman Clement Zablocki (D-Wisconsin)

Congressman William Broomfield (R-Michigan)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Bert Lance -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Lunch with Russell Long

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI
	MONDALE
	COSTANZA
	EIZENSTAT
	JORDAN
	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
X	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY BILL
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	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
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	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	GAMMILL
	HARDEN
	HOYT
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	KING
	KRAFT
X	LANCE
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	POSTON
	PRESS
	B. RAINWATER
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
	WELLS
	VOORDE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3. 15. 77

To Lance

Sometimes have
lunch with Russell
Long.

Study up on refund-
able tax credit concept
first.

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for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

Bob Lipshutz -

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Frank Moore

Re: Letter from Daniel K. Inouye
re: The Burmah Oil Co. Ltd.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
X		LIPSHUTZ
	X	MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

	FOR STAFFING
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		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

Letter from Sen. Inouye
Frank thought you should
see.

Rick

DANIEL K. INOUE
HAWAII

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 7, 1977

Lipshutz.
Check on this
- Inouye & the
G. Bell.

J

Honorable James E. Carter
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

FM
11 MAR 1977

Dear Mr. President:

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

I am concerned about the proposed financing under the Maritime Administration's title XI program for the vessels committed to carry LNG from Indonesia to Japan for The Burmah Oil Company Limited, a U.K. company.

Allegations have been made that, because of the structure of the transaction and the parties involved in it, the "citizenship" requirements of title XI are not properly satisfied, and that the applications for MarAd assistance were fraudulent. Also, there have been allegations of corrupt payments and allocations of future profits to various persons, both American and foreign.

Because of these and other concerns, I wrote on December 29, 1976 to Robert J. Blackwell, who then was and still is Maritime Administrator, to say that it would be advisable that your Administration have the opportunity to examine the transaction before MarAd took further action. Mr. Blackwell replied that he did not feel a decision should be deferred, and on January 19 he issued a "final" commitment for loan guarantees in the amount of \$474,523,000 for five LNG tankers and a "preliminary and conditional" commitment, not yet finalized, in the amount of \$252,600,000 for two more.

Since that time, I have been advised by knowledgeable sources, for example, that promises were made in writing for highly questionable allocations of substantial anticipated profits that would in all likelihood amount to hundreds of millions of dollars over the twenty-year period involved. These were signed not just by Burmast East Shipping Corporation, the Burmah subsidiary created for this deal, but also by Burmah itself and its principal shipping subsidiary. Thus, even if one wishes to accept the parties' statements that Burmast East has been eliminated for a "buy-out" of approximately \$25,000, it is not necessarily clear that all the corruption has been wrung out.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
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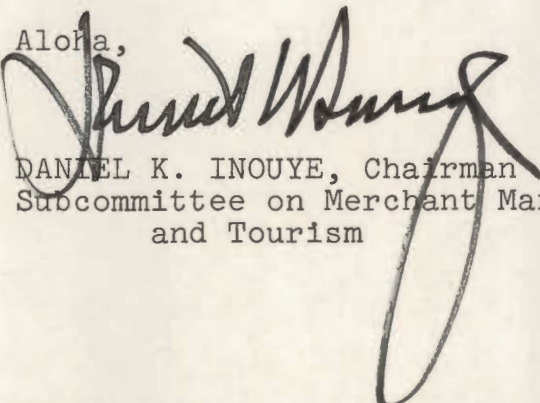
Honorable James E. Carter
March 7, 1977
Page Two

Even if the deal has been in a sense, "cleaned up" by changes in the tankers' ownership, MarAd's decision to go forward does not show a great concern on the part of the United States government with corruption in international dealings. Informed sources have reported to me that the Japanese take this approval to signal that, when strong political and financial interests are at stake, America's commitment to honest dealing will give way. Of course, I would not say necessarily that any company should be forever barred from participation in government programs for something done in the past. However, I see no reason why the United States government should bend so far backward to grant the largest financial guarantee in history to bail out Burmah in the very transaction in which corruption may have occurred and in which dubious transactions have raised grave legal and policy issues.

I should caution that I do not yet have evidence sufficient to determine whether the various allegations are true or false. However, due to the intense publicity this case has received and the fact that MarAd and Justice have had the matter under investigation and the SEC, GAO, and Congress still do, it can not be said that the Administration is unaware of the situation. Accordingly, I believe that steps should be taken to assure the Congress and the American people that the Executive Branch is properly discharging its responsibilities in this case.

As you know, Mr. President, I am a strong defender of MarAd, but it takes no gift of prophecy to foresee trouble ahead when news reports indicate that Treasury cannot justify granting a \$255 million loan for New York City, while MarAd is rushing to guarantee a \$252.6 million loan as part of a deal to bail a U.K. company out of its financial difficulty.

Aloha,



DANIEL K. INOUE, Chairman
Subcommittee on Merchant Marine
and Tourism